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THE IRISH TRAGEDY

By JOHN MACLEAN, M.A.

Let me address myself to Scots people particularly at this critical juncture in the world's history just as critical as in August, 1914—to save Ireland from a tragedy that is bound to come if a stop is not put to the bloody career of the present Coalition gang of unmitigated scoundrels.

My plea is that Britain has no right to dominate Ireland with constabulary armed with bombs, and with an army and navy considered foreign to the Irish. We Scots have been taught to revere the names of William Wallace and Robert Bruce, because these doughty men of old were recorded as championing the cause of freedom when Edward I and Edward II tried to absorb Scotland as part of English territory. All Scots must, therefore, appreciate the plight of Ireland, which for over seven centuries has chafed under the same English yoke, and now ought to stand by Ireland in her last great effort for freedom; the last because triumph is bound to be here very soon.

IRELAND'S SUBJECTION IS UNDEMOCRATIC.

Right through the war the British Government justified its prosecution of the war on the ground that it was a war of "democracy" against Prussianism, and that the war would guarantee the rights of small nations if the Allies won.

The Allies have won—or at anyrate, America has won. Has democracy been recognised? Have small nations had their rights? The pitiable plight of Ireland gives the lie direct to those profound prevaricators called the Coalition Government. The Allies saw to it that a faked plebiscite was carried through in Alsace-Lorraine and Slesvig to take away parts of the German Empire, and that all the small nations round the Russian territory obtained their independence as a first step to bribery and use against Russia herself.

But to let Ireland have her independence is a different story. Despite Ireland's wonderful unity and solidarity on the issue of separation from Britain, the Coalition Government violently persists in keeping its hold on Erin.

Nothing but loathing and disgust must afflict any straight-thinking person when he or she recalls the continuously repeated cry that Britain must release German democracy from the blight of Kaiserism and Junkerism and Prussianism, and recede to the lying intent that the Bolsheviks, in deposing of Kerensky, had over-ridden the principle of democracy, and that, though a minority, they held the reins of power in rustic Russia. As a matter of simple fact, the alleged "dictatorship by terrorists" was the stock argument used all last year by Winston Churchill and his press puppets to justify the spending of close on

two hundred million pounds in the direct and indirect attempt to overthrow the vast Russian Communist Republic. Even yet Britain is chary about trading with Russia because of Russia's alleged repudiation of the principle of democracy.

To any right-thinking person, Britain's retention of Ireland is the world's most startling instance of a "dictatorship by terrorists," as Britain rules Ireland against Irish wishes, with policemen armed with bombs and a huge army equipped with over 40 tanks and as many aeroplanes, machine guns galore, and all the other beautiful manifestations of Christian brotherhood, love, and charity.

Democracy in Britain means the rule by a clear majority vote, although in some cases Trade Unions insist on a two-to-one majority. How did Ireland vote at the General Election in 1918?

Sinn Féiners and Redmonites polled 1,211,516 votes or 79.4 per cent. of the total votes; the Unionists polled 271,455, or 17.5 per cent.; and the Independents and Laborites polled 45,939 or 2.9 per cent. Obviously, the vote shows that by 4 to 1 the people in Ireland wish to look after their own affairs. That overwhelming vote satisfies the most stringent demands of democracy inside Trade Union and Co-operative circles.

This Irish decision was reaffirmed in January, 1920, at the Municipal Elections, when 95 per cent. of the townships outside Ulster fell into the hands of the Republicans. Even Derry and Lurgan, in Ulster, were taken from the Unionists, and in Lisburn, Dunganstown, and Cookstown the Carsonites have only a bare majority.

The complete statistics of Municipal Elections show that in Leitrim 36 out of 38 towns were won by Republicans and Nationalists; in Connaught 9 out of 10, in Munster 32 out of 32, and in Ulster 21 out of 47.

That is not all. The Republicans are now controlling and policing 21 counties, and news has just arrived that in Ulster the Sinn Féiners and Nationalists combined have captured County Tyrone with 11 against 9, and County Fermanagh also with 11 against 9. Great gains have also been registered in the other four of the special Ulster counties, although the final results are not out at the moment of writing.

If all these decisions do not clearly indicate the mind of the majority in Ireland, then elections will never establish any definite verdict.

Britain has obviously no excuse for the flooding of Ireland with troops, and it must be British Labour's bounden duty to see that these soldiers, mainly boys of 18, be withdrawn and let the Irish settle their own affairs. If the minority cannot stand up for themselves, let them emigrate. That is what Lord French and the Coalitionists wish. 200,000 young Irishmen to do. They are trying to starve these youths out of their native land. That is why Clyde

capitalists gladly engage the Irish. The Government tells them to do so, as Irishmen in Scotland are less dangerous than in Ireland; whereas Scotsmen will submit to unemployment and starvation and even commit suicide rather than annoy the Government or the bosses. Instead of blaming Irishmen for stealing their jobs, Scotsmen should blame the Government and the capitalists, who are responsible for the influx of Irishmen to the Clyde and the west coast of England. If Ulstermen cannot tolerate an Irish Republic, let them take a taste of emigration.

THE PROTESTANT CAMOUFLAGE.

The Government defends its persistent policy of retaining Ireland by alleging that it is its sacred duty to protect the Orange Protestants, who would have a rough time of it if the Irish Catholics held full sway in an Irish Republic. This line of argument was good bluff in 1914, but cannot hold water today with clear-headed people, who are nimble-witted enough to put two and two together.

Just remember Britain's excuse for entry into the war. Was it not to defend poor little Belgium against Germany? Even Lloyd George tried on that "whooze" on Christmas, 1915, in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, when he came to persuade the Clyde workers to accept dilution of labour. But everyone ought to know that the Belgians are Catholics and the Prussians Protestants.

Does anyone really believe that Britain fought the greatest world war to protect Catholics against Protestants on the Continent, and now is preparing to turn the Emerald Isle red with Catholic blood to protect Protestants?

Sir Henry Wilson, Field Marshall, in the middle of May, 1920, blew the gaff on the Belgian bluff at the Union Jack Club when he blurted out in an indiscreet military fashion that Britain entered the war to save her own skin.

For saying the same, in other words, of course, I was sentenced to three years' and then to five years' penal servitude. Sir Henry obviously ought to be sent to Peterhead quarry for the rest of his natural!

Sir Henry is perfectly right in saying that Britain entered the war for selfish ends—the preservation of British capitalist predominance in the world. May not the same reason explain the stubborn insistence that Ireland shall not get independence?

I think it does. Britain murdered men to steal Egypt because of the Suez Canal, and is going to keep Egypt, although no Ulster exists there. What is the motive behind the retention of Ireland? I think the real reason is not the Ulstermen, whom the Government loves as ardently as the citizens of that Indian city called Amritsar, where General Dyer (or Killeen) wiped out over 500 to prove to the poor people of India the abounding love of Britain towards the poor heathen!

(Continued next week.)

Safe Labor Government Means Working Class Slavery

"THERE IS NO SAFER GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD THAN A LABOR GOVERNMENT, WHICH STICKS TO THE DECLARED PROGRAMME."—JOHN STOREY, LABOR PREMIER OF N.S.W.

Because the people of N.S.W. placed the Labor Party, with Mr. John Storey at its head in office, it is obviously important that the people should know whether Mr. Storey and his Government are safe; whether, also their interests are safe in the hands of Mr. Storey. But first let John himself speak:

"In the interests of the State as a whole, it is a pity that Conservative politicians cannot take a broader view." The State is still going strong. The Labor Movement is not an association of robbers, banded together to deprive people of their just rights. In the last twenty years it has effected a wonderful improve-

ment in working class conditions. There is a better standard of living and a healthier national spirit. That national spirit was manifest during the war; and the Labor movement, more than any other agency, fostered it. Our critics would not be guilty for a moment of admitting that our programme is a very reasonable one. Our only business with London is to offer a profitable investment for money to be expended in reproductive work. Our wealth lies in the soil. We cannot get it out unless we have money. The more we can get from the soil the greater will be the security of those who contribute to our loans. I hope to convince the London financial world that this part of Australia offers security second to none, and that Labor Government means safe government and honesty of purpose."

In the foregoing, Mr. Storey gives the essence of the Labor Party programme. It advocates a "self-reliant community," a strong "national sentiment," it believes in giving everyone his "just rights."

Upon these propositions was the N.S.W. State Labor Party elected. It is now engaged in giving effect to them. Truly is it sticking to its declared programme.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNITY?

By his statement that the Nationalists do not consider the interests of the State as a whole, Mr. Storey implies that the Labor Party does, and the questions immediately arise: What are those interests? What is the community?

Since the possession of the accumulated wealth of the world, necessary for the bringing together of men as employers and employees, is lodged in the hands of a section of the people, it follows that this section, having the power of life and death over the rest of the people, become the dominant section or class. Their needs become the needs of all the people, upon whom they are able to impress their will. Thus the State as a whole, the community is divided into

(Continued on Page 4.)

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RAY EVERITT Managing Editor.

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The Need of the Hour.

During the past four years great has been the lesson learnt by our class in their struggle for what was thought to be better conditions, but what in reality was a struggle for the maintenance of, or rather to retrieve a previous standard. The fight has been futile so far as maintaining or regaining the pre-war standard—let alone a betterment of it.

A realisation of this fact is being forced upon our class by concrete experience and the open statements of statisticians, Arbitration Court judges, etc., along with the propaganda of the revolutionist. Whilst the realisation of this fact must tend towards revolution, its immediate effect upon our class is to throw it into a state of pessimism, and make it think the case is hopeless. Having lost faith, and rightly so, in the legislation and promises of politicians, and having failed to secure an improved capitalism through Arbitration and sundry other means, and lacking an understanding of their true position in society, what other outlook than a hopeless one is there for them?

But the position is not hopeless to us of the revolutionary section of our class. We know full well that what is needed is a further forcing of the masses, by conditions and revolutionary agitation, to realise the true relationship between them as the propertyless class and the master class as the owners of the means of production.

The crying need of the hour is revolutionary agitation, and for this to be effective a solid organisation of all communists into one compact disciplined body is necessary. In this respect the formation of the Communist Party of Australia caters for a vital need of the working-class movement. But as Lenin says, "A Communist Party is not merely a glorified debating club." To be effective it must be composed of those who, knowing the remedy for the present state of affairs and how to attain that remedy, are prepared to throw the whole of their weight into the fight. A party composed of sympathetic ticket holders is of little value to the revolutionary movement. The nature of the task before the communists demands a closely knit body of the workers for working class emancipation, who at all times will be prepared to grapple with any situation that may arise.

The proletarian revolution, whilst necessarily being in the interest of the majority, will not be the conscious work of the majority, but rather the outcome of a situation wherein our class will take its stand against the present class State. It will be at such a time that the Communist movement will be called upon to guide the movement of our class into fruitful channels—that of the complete overthrow of the system. During such a period, and before too, the communist must be active in all working-class organisations, and, if possible, gain the controlling position in order that the communist programme will receive the backing of the masses.

Conscious of the serious task that lies before it, the Communist Party of Australia will strive to build its organisation of those who are worthy of such a task, and who, realising the paramount part that the Party will play in the proletarian revolution, will give to it their undying fidelity and active support.

Zinoviev, at the Second Congress of the Communist International says: "For the foremost Russian

THE Revolutionary Outlook

By MARCIA.

The Road to Success.

In his address at the unveiling of the monument to the late L. O'Hara, M.L.A., Mr. Storey recounted some of his conversations with the deceased, and among other things said: "What I tried to place before young O'Hara was, that compromise was the only road to success."

We believe Mr. Storey entirely; his whole actions prove that he has always held this idea; but is very refreshing to hear the sentiment from his own lips.

This is the man who is Premier of the State, and leader of an alleged working-class party.

It is quite true that to be a successful politician, you must compromise; but are the working-class prepared to put their trust in an individual who admits he is a political opportunist and endeavours to inculcate all his colleagues with the same idea?

A man who has the interests of the down-trodden masses at heart is not concerned whether he, as an individual, is a successful politician; all his energies are directed towards working-class emancipation and his slogan must be that of "No compromise," whether it costs him his political position, his liberty, or even his life.

The Civil Servants.

It is gratifying to realise that at last the Civil Servants have realised the important fact that they are members of the working-class.

It is undeniable that many of them have considered themselves far above the level of those who do manual work, for instance; but conditions have forced them to learn that when it comes to a question of living, they, like the rest of their fellow-workers, are on a subsistence wage.

And the same conditions which have worked this miracle will work a still greater one; they will bring the bulk of the working-class to take united action for their emancipation. In the meantime, the place of the Civil Servants is that of all class-conscious workers—in the ranks of the Communist army, spreading their educational propaganda.

Unknown Heroes.

Last week in the Press we had account of a solemn pantomime being enacted in London when, with the burial of an unknown soldier, the Empire paid its tribute to the unknown man who fell in the great war. While no one regrets more than the class-conscious worker the fearful loss of life incurred in a useless war, and while always ready to show respect at all times to those who laid down their lives for a principle, however mistaken it may have been, we realise that this hypocritical display on the part of a master class is simply a shedding of crocodile tears to serve a political purpose.

England to-day is seething with revolt, want, disease and misery are holding full sway; the thoughts of the people are turning towards revolution; consequently something must be done to distract their thoughts. The patriotic spirit must be aroused, and in contemplation of the nation's gratitude to the dead heroes, such trifles as unemployment, hunger, etc., may be forgotten.

We also read in the current Press of the "distress of discharged diggers in England."

Live soldiers can be left to starve on the streets; it costs far more to provide for thousands of living men than it does to discharge the debt to the countless dead by burying one corpse; and there is no spectacular value attached to it either.

If the master class were in any way sincere they would devote their energy and money towards the benefit of the living, both the returned men and the dependents of those who fell; but we know that this latest pantomime is due, not to sincerity, but to political interests; and we can only do our best to make as many of our class as possible see it in the same light.

Agent Provocateurs.

We are told that the Communist Party affords a happy hunting ground for spies and agent provocateurs.

Of course, any party which functions against the interests of the capitalist class is always liable to those inflictions; also we realise that when they get there, their work in almost all cases is not based on facts, but on a fabrication of lies, which is used as a handle for the master class to strike with. This being so, if certain individuals continue in the way that

worker, the Party is sacred, the best and the highest thing in life, dearer than life itself, sweeter and nearer than all else, his beacon and guiding star. And in this respect the working-class of the whole world would do well to learn of the Russian worker.

It is for the class conscious revolutionist of Australia to learn this lesson, and see to it that a party is built up that will go down in the annals of history as the beacon light of the revolution, and whose outstanding feature was the unswerving loyalty and sincerity of its members.

Ray Everitt.

The Outlook in France

I have translated the following from a May issue of "Le Proletaire," a French Socialist organ. It may convey some idea to Internationalists of the outlook for the French working-class movement. Despite the reign of terror inaugurated by the French ruling class ever since the armistice was declared, it will be noticed that the optimistic note predominates. The "democratic illusion" would appear to be losing its grip in more places than Australia, where, as in N.S.W., the reigning "Labor" Government represents less than 30 per cent. of the adult voters.

—TOM GLYNN.

The 1st May a festival! You laugh, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, but that is merely a flash affirmation of your habitual hypocrisy. Only the unpurged politicians, from the right to the left, allow themselves similar facetiousness. They will perhaps, the ear of the small shopkeeper, who takes a day of a general stoppage of work. They will doubt be applauded by the great snobishness, nations at seeing their dividends diminish through strikes. But they will provoke a scornful shrug of the shoulders from the organised proletariat who know what these three words, "the first May," comprehend of forceful protest against the capitalist regime, the essential characteristic of which rests upon the exploitation of man by man. For the workers know to-day. They remember.

They remember and curse the name of the radical socialist, Clemenceau, who presented himself with a bath of blood on the 1st Floreal last.

They well remember with more acuteness that day of desperate battle between Labor and Capital—the latter posted behind the backs of proletarians in uniform, holding their bayonets against the chests of their class brothers.

They remember all the vain promises that were made to them by "leading democrats"; promises which were realised only when the army of labor mobilised itself to force them from the cupidity of the holders of capital.

And because they remember, this year the 1st of May assumes still more than formerly a character of vehement protestation.

It is also because they understand the imperious necessity of an international mobilisation of the creative forces of Labor, that they cease work to-day in close solidarity with all the exploited of the world.

they have started, members of the master class are likely to be able to keep their cash in their pockets, for a while at least, as they will get their dirty work done free of charge.

A certain so-called militant sore, annoyed and angry because we have dared to form a Communist Party in direct opposition to his sovereign edict, is venting his spite on individual members of the organisation by traducing them, and also wilfully lying about the principles of the Communist Party itself, and endeavouring to give a false impression to outsiders.

We are not concerned whether his actions are prompted by childish spleen or something worse; the action itself remains the same, and we unhesitatingly state that using such tactics is playing into the hands of our enemies, and the individual who adopts such an action is acting the role of an agent provocateur, more or less effectually because—perhaps—he isn't paid for it.

Conditions Again!

We see reported in "Truth," of Sunday, 14th, two fatal instances where illegal operations were performed on women. On account of the tragic results we hear of them; but we must not forget that there are numbers of other cases that we hear nothing about, which are successful or partially so from the point of view of those who undergo them. At the same time a human life is lost, and often the prospective mother is weakened or internally injured for life.

What sort of a system is it under which women risk their lives, not in giving birth to their offspring, but in killing them before they are born?

Do women act so because they dislike children, or are afraid of the pangs of child birth?

By no means! We have said the dangers of abortion are twice as great; but the everlasting strain and worry, the inability to feed and clothe the infants, force the mothers to do all in their power to limit their families.

We turn to Russia; there we have a system under which maternity is looked upon in its true light; where provision is made whereby mothers and children receive every attention, and the future welfare of the latter assured.

If this is revolution, let us have it as quickly as possible; and it is only by revolution that we can alter the miserable state of affairs existing to-day.

Women! You, who are groaning under your motherhood, that wonderful function which should be your deepest joy, remember that under a working-class regime your economic troubles will cease; you can rejoice and be glad in your womanhood and children, and remember too that your place is in the Communist ranks, working towards that great goal!

And indeed it requires the shameless cynicism of the French bourgeoisie, fortified more than ever in its voluntary misunderstanding of the march of events, to expect from the workers of this country that they should forego setting the course of their destiny towards the liberating revolution.

The people of France are exhausted, at the end of sacrifices. They live in the agonies of increased cost of living, and see increase daily the disproportion between their wages and their purchasing power. They are delivered defenceless to the large and small merchants of the National Bloc, who crush them by increased imposts, taxes, and sur-taxes, on the products of first necessity, in order to free themselves from the capital scandalously increased by the profits of war.

Meanwhile the fiscal immunity of the large fortunes manifests itself with revolting licence. It provokes in the foreigner the most legitimate distrust in our finances, which increase only by successive loans, the commissions and interest on which are always more onerous, and the success more uncertain. The English and Americans close their purses to us—doubtless until the moment when our capitalists will open theirs, to contribute towards filling the Treasury which they emptied during the war with touching unanimity.

Isolated from the financial point of view, France is still more so on account of her continental politics. After the check to the lamentable Russian adventure, in which the imbecile obstinacy of a few individuals caused the death of thousands of men and increased and frightful debt by some millions, we have the adventure of Silesia, the foolish occupation of Frankfurt, in which the two militarisms, yesterday enemies, conjointly array themselves against the German Revolution.

Then we have the refusal to treat sincerely with the Soviet Republic, which can not only feed us and supply us with precious material, but can moreover immediately revivify the exhausted and famished nations of Central Europe.

There is San Remo where, with a start, the Supreme Council is obliged to criticise its own work—the Treaty of Versailles, that it will be necessary to revise one day very soon. It is condemned in all the chancelleries of Europe and America, because its sham conquests contain nothing but germs of discord, hatred, and economic anarchy.

Such is the work of the Dictatorship of the Council of Ministers, servants of the ruling class. And the French proletariat, forsooth, should not affirm the invincible power of its numbers, and its will for prompt social realizations, in face of this schedule of bankruptcy!

Ah, how little you know us, you brutes of high finance! And what inability you exhibit to see, hear or understand. You believe the proletariat still within your clutches, even when it denounces by numberless manifestations the great democratic illusion and detaches itself from you with disgust.

In the Socialist Party, as in the Syndicates, the great experiences of the revolutions of Russia, Hungary, Austria, and Germany illuminate its march. Better taught, the proletariat is learning to substitute common action for the theoretical disagreements of the past, leading to an irresistible movement of world-wide emancipation of the oppressed class.

A strong majority has already declared itself at the last Socialist Congress of the Seine, and in several provincial Federations, in favor of adhesion to the principles of the Third International. The last workmen's sessions of the various railway systems are very significant in their turn. The revolutionary tendency prevailed at the Congress of the Federation of Railwaymen who, according to the strong expression of Karl Radek—"hold the State by the throat."

In metallurgy, in building, in the furniture trades, among the miners and the postmen, the spirit of revolution predominates, or tends to predominate, over the spirit of reform. This is the prophetic sign of these times, in which the intellectual bankruptcy and the utter powerlessness of the bourgeoisie manifest themselves on every side.

"The belief in the inevitability, the inamutability, the eternity of capitalist domination is disturbed from day to day. The idea of new forms of life, of a general comradeship, of culture for all, of common property in the means of production, presents itself as an approaching reality. . . . For the first time it exercises its hold on the masses."

To the superficial observer it may seem that the revolutionary struggle in the centre and west of Europe develops with extreme slowness; but if we look with more care and penetration, we can only admire the formidable changes which are taking place in the minds of millions of men and women throughout the world. And though the exterior facade of bourgeois society still exists, it must collapse very soon. All the exploited of the world are preparing to carry on this hard but inevitable conflict, to hurl the bourgeoisie from power, and to effect at last in themselves the moral and intellectual transformation which will render them capable of inaugurating the Communist society already announced by the celebrated manifesto of 1847.

During this 1st May innumerable crowds of demonstrators declare themselves afresh against the present social order, but this time firmly resolved to overthrow it at short date.

Long live the 1st May, and the Workers' International!

PIERRE RIVE.

Second Congress of the Third International.

(FROM Nos. 1-4 OF THE "BULLETIN" OF THE CONGRESS, JULY 27th-AUGUST 3rd, 1920).

(Continued from Last Week.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 2nd.

The Communist Party and Parliamentarism.

The session began with a tribute to the memory of the fallen Hungarian comrades, the day being the anniversary of the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Bukharin (Russia) then introduced the resolution on Parliamentarism. He distinguished between the period of peaceful development, in which there was a certain community of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and in which the bourgeoisie groups, like other working-class manifestations became integral parts of the capitalist State, from the present period of the collapse of capitalism. The latter requires an entirely new, destructive form of Parliamentarism; but the transition from the old to the new forms involves the shedding of much hesitation and opportunism—not an easy task.

Analysing the composition of the German Independent, French, Italian, Swedish, and Norwegian Parliamentary groups, he showed that the right wing and centre covered the bulk of their composition. This explains their incorrect attitude towards Parliamentarism itself, as displayed in the German Independents' statement that the elections had prevented them from replying to the letter of the E.C. of the Third International.

The Opponents of Parliamentary Action.

Opponents of Parliamentary action fell into two groups. The first rejected on principle all political action—such as the American I.W.W. Their attitude was due to an incorrect understanding of the role of political action; but it was comprehensible, in view of their experience of the corrupt and decayed Parliamentarism of America.

The second group, led by Bordiga, only opposed the use of Parliamentarism at the present moment. It was a great mistake, however, to consider even physical contact with the bourgeoisie a mortal sin; Soviets set up before the time had arrived to seize power might easily fall into the hands of the opportunists. Parliament at such a time must still be used, to be "blown up" from within; of course in harmony with direct action outside. Refusal was at best a kind of illness, or else an act of desertion. The speaker quoted the examples of Liebknecht, Hoglund, the Serbian and the Russian Communists. The best guarantee that Parliament would be properly used was the creation of a Communist Party free of all opportunists.

Wolfstein reported on the amendments introduced by the Commission.

Bordiga (Italy) spoke as the representative of the opposition. He distinguished between the Anarchist and Syndicalist opposition to Parliamentarism and that of the Left Communists, which was based on Marxist antagonism to bourgeois democracy. The Russian Revolution had unmasked the Social Democrats of the Second International; but, in the West, Parliament was too old to be used as in Russia—to revolutionise the masses.

He feared that the Party would devote too much attention and energy to the elections, instead of exposing the fiction of democratic representation, with which the masses were easily deceived. It was utopian to think of fighting Parliamentarism by lending the prestige of our participation to Parliament, which was now only a tool of the bourgeoisie.

Concluding, Bordiga announced that, if the decision of the Congress did not fall in with the views he had expressed, he submitted to it beforehand.

TO THE I.W.W.

Special Message from the Communist International (Moscow).

Foreword by TOM GLYNN.

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BRITISH LABOUR DELEGATES IN RED PETROGRAD.

Published By The Trades Union Council of Petrograd.

Reprinted By The Australian Socialist Party. 6d; posted 7d.

Wijnkoop (Holland) considered that the debate had shown the futility of admitting the French Socialists and the German Independents to the Congress and its Commissions. The question was, how to hasten the revolt of the masses in those parties against their opportunist leaders.

Lezovsky (Russia) also emphasised the necessity of drastic reforms within the ranks of parties already in the Communist International.

Crispien and Dittmann.

On behalf of the German Independents, Crispian and Dittmann addressed the Congress. They defended the conduct of their Party, generally on the ground that the delegates present were not sufficiently acquainted with German conditions, and specifically on the ground that the Party was not always as strong as it is to-day. This applied to the expulsion of the Russian Embassy in November, 1918, the struggle for peace with Soviet Russia, and the declining of two trainloads of Russian corn after the revolution. The attacks on the leaders were unjustified, as they only carried out the decisions of their congresses, and would continue to carry on a revolutionary policy. They trusted that their meeting with the Third International would tend to a rapprochement.

FRIDAY, JULY 30th.

Sixth Session: Admission to the Third International (continued).

A Reply to the Opportunists.

Criticising the statement made by Dittmann, Rakovsky (Ukraine) pointed out that the very fact that the Independents continued to cooperate with the Scheidemann gang to do the work of the Entente against Soviet Russia gave away the whole position. By their refusal to call upon the workers to overthrow the bourgeoisie at the moment of the latter's greatest peril—when, according to them, Germany was under the heel of the Entente—the Independents had made themselves as much responsible as the Majority Socialists for the Peace Treaty.

Serrati (Italy) agreed with Bordiga that the fundamental problems of the International must be made clear before fixing conditions of entry. The parties in the International already must get to know one another better and also the social and political situation in their respective countries. The latter was most important, as it explained why the French S.P. was ambiguous in its behaviour, while the Italians were ready to make a revolution. Nevertheless, he concurred that a "weeding-out" process must take place in their own ranks.

Lenin on the Situation.

Lenin (Russia) considered that Crispian's speech was a most valuable historical document, that threw much light on the position of the Independents. Generally it was a purely Kautskian speech. Marx had spoken of proletarian dictatorship, it was true, but the Second International had never mentioned it. Crispian had not described the true state of things, which was, that a labour aristocracy had been dominating and holding back the revolutionary masses. It was not sufficient to talk about the difficult position of Germany as a justification; the situation in Russia was much more difficult. Those who make a revolution must be prepared for sacrifices, and must warn the working class that such are expected of them. The Independents repudiated terror at the very moment when the capitalist class was using that weapon to the utmost.

A Foolish Taunt.

Crispien had accused the Bolsheviks of bourgeois strategy, because they had given part of the land to the peasants after the proletariat had seized power. But that transfer of land had been essential in order to make the peasants realise that the working class had achieved a social revolution.

Crispien's very speech had shown, despite his assertions, that Kautsky still had a great influence in the Independent Party; and Serrati also was mistaken to assert that Turati had no influence. A conference of each national party would be expected, at which the masses must be asked their opinion of the resolutions of the Congress.

There also spoke: Levy (Germany), Humbert-Droz (Switzerland), Daumig (German Independents), Kata Dalstrom (Sweden), Stocker (German Independents), Jorgenson (Norway), and Frus (Norway).

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1st.

A football match between the Anglo-Saxon delegates to the Third International and the Moscow Association Team was arranged.

"DROP THE FETTER."

We have received a communication commenting on an article published under the above title, but owing to lack of space it is held over until our next issue.

Political Power—"Shield" or "Dictatorship"**JUDD-REARDON DEBATE.**

The Relation of the A.S.P. to all other parties.
Posted, 7d.

BOLSHEVISM AT WORK.

By Professor W. T. Goode.

The observations of an impartial and trained mind in Soviet Russia. Price 3/6, post 3/8.

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TO BREST-LITOVSK.

By Leon Trotsky.

A brilliant contribution to our understanding of the period. Posted, 3/8.

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

By N. Lenin.

A limited number of this available. Posted, 1/8.

WHAT IS RUSSIA?

By Peter Simonoff.

Provides the background for the events of the past three years. Posted, 2/2.

The State and Revolution.

2/7 posted

By N. LENIN

2/7 posted

The Task of the Proletariat in the Revolution**PAMPHLETS ON RUSSIA.**

The Structure of the Soviet State. By J. Reed.

In Russia. By Prof. Goode.

Victorious Russia. By Isaac McBride.

The Bullitt Report.

Memorandum to The Prime Minister. By P. Simonoff.

Posted 7d each.

RED EUROPE.

By Frank Anstey.

Posted 2/8.

THE RUSSIAN CODE OF LABOR LAWS.

An authentic document reprinted by the A.S.P.

Posted, 7d.

Australia and the World Revolution

A.M.P. MANIFESTO.

A STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PRINCIPLES.

Posted 4d.

THE DANGER OF THE WHITLEY SCHEME.

By Moses Baritz.

A Marxist criticism of workers' control in industry. Posted, 4d.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

By Karl Kautsky.

Posted 1/8.

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT.

The A.S.P. edition of Marx's classic address to working men. Paper, Posted, 1/1; cloth, Posted 2/1.

ARBITRATION AND THE STRIKE.

By P. Laidler.

An excellent statement of the way of arbitration. Posted, 4d.

A.S.P. Literature Department, 115 Goulburn St., Sydney

SAFE LABOR GOVERNMENT MEANS WORKING-CLASS SLAVERY.

(Continued from front Page.)

two classes; and in capitalist society, the noteworthy fact is that the interests of the smaller section appear to be the interests of the whole community.

When Mr. Storey speaks of the "interests of the State as a whole," he ignores the class basis of the State, and therefore he speaks in the name of, and for, the master class.

When Mr. Storey speaks of promoting

A HEALTHIER NATIONAL SPIRIT.

he says no more than that a spirit of nationalism is necessary to, and in the interests of, the master class of Australia.

When Mr. Storey states that his programme is a "very reasonable one," he says no more than that from the point of view of the master class of Australia, his programme is quite reasonable.

When Mr. Storey states that there is no safer government than a Labor Government, he merely says that from the point of view of the master class of Australia, his government is eminently "safe."

Yet is not until Mr. Storey tackles

THE MONEY QUESTION.

that he grows really amusing as a "Labor" Premier. "Our only business with London," he states, "is to offer a profitable investment." Two points must be here noted, that the money is to be borrowed in London, spent in N.S.W., a profit to be realised in N.S.W., and that profit to be sent to London.

The claim has been made that the profits of the capitalists were in recognition of his "directing ability," but financiers in London are completely separated from the "reproductive works" upon which the money is to be spent. They neither know nor are interested in directing the work, and are, in fact, quite indifferent as to the particular kind of work. Their only consideration is whether or not the investment is "safe"? Are they guaranteed their interest? And John Storey hastens to reply that they are, adding that the security of N.S.W. is second to none. But is it the Labor Government that stands security for the capital invested by the London financiers and the interest payable to them? Or is it the master class of Australia with its courts, judges, police and provisions? For these Mr. Storey and his Government have every respect. Does he not say that the "Labor Movement is not an association of robbers, banded together to deprive people of their just rights?" He truly believes that the London financiers have a "just right" to their profits. And so they have. But he also must believe that the workers who produce those profits have a "just right" to be exploited. Whatever the working-class has to-day, they have a "right" to.

Thus it becomes apparent that the Labor Party, by its talk of the "State as a whole," by its advocacy of a strong spirit of nationalism, is playing the part of the capitalist most admirably. The greater its ability to convince (i.e., deceive) the working-class that it has effected a wonderful improvement in the working conditions, the easier it is for it to convince the London financiers that it is a "safe" government.

While doing this the great Labor Party tells us that it is out to secure "better and fairer conditions for all those who toil by hand or brain," which means to make conditions of slavery more slavish and servile by helping the workers to be contented with

WET WEATHER

On Wet Sundays when no meeting can be held in Sydney Domain, there will be a meeting in the Sydney Branch Hall, Liverpool Street.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.

If you are convinced that the propositions of Scientific Socialism are a meeting you must also recognise the need for organization. As a class conscious worker you should set an example to the workers with whom you come in contact by taking a definite stand behind the international revolutionary movement as a member of the A.S.P.

If there is no Branch in your locality, you can become a MEMBER-AT-LARGE, and thus become A REAL LIVE WIRE. Why not make yourself a distributor of revolutionary literature?

Full information from the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

LOOKING BACKWARD

By Edward Bellamy.

One of the earliest novels of the Labor movement and still popular. Paper 1/6, posted 1/8; cloth 3/6, posted 3/9.

their slavery. But no word of abolishing that slavery—or even of recognising that it exists. And it is this slavery that Mr. Storey eludes that the Labor movement has improved in the last twenty years. At of slavery alive. But what of the "glorious" days of the past that so many bewail? What of the unemployment in the country today? What of the reduced amount of necessities, the poor quality? What of the increase in crime, in slums, in squalor? Is this how the great "Labor movement" has improved conditions in the past twenty years? And so far as actual working conditions are concerned, have the Labor governments done anything on their own initiative? Is it not rather true that the legislative activity has only resulted from working-class activity outside the legislatures? Has the Labor Party's endorsement of Arbitration led to any improvement of a voluntary nature, or have the workers not been compelled to prove the absolute necessity of Awards?

There could have been no more unfortunate claim than that the conditions of the working-class have been improved in the past twenty years. Not only are they actually worse off, but the relative fall compared to the increases by the capitalists, is very much greater.

HOW TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS.

The workers must improve their own conditions. We must send those who talk of the "interests of the State as a whole" where they belong—into the arms of the capitalists, when it will be obvious to all that they are quite "safe" to look after the interests of the masters.

The way to improve our conditions of life is to become the masters of the State—to own the country, and to impress upon the entire people our needs, our ideas. We must have done with this talk of the community. Let us instead say the working-class, the proletariat. Let us smash the present government in all its forms, and replace it by our government. This is the path to freedom, but it means that our class accomplish its historic mission as the only class at present capable of truly revolutionary action.

—A. T. B.

Australian Socialist Party**NEWS AND NOTES****SYDNEY BRANCH.****KURRI BRANCH.**

Our efforts to keep the doctrine of Marxian Socialism well before the local public continue to be maintained, and are meeting with encouraging results.

On Saturday evening, Nov. 13th, assisted by the presence in our midst of Comrade Jack Kilburn, we held a meeting on the street corner, and a considerable amount of literature was circulated amongst the crowd.

On the following evening in the the King's Hall, Comrade Kilburn lectured to a good assemblage on "The Worker, his Problem, and its Solution." The speaker and his subject were well received, and in the conclusion several questions were asked and satisfactorily answered.

The chief feature at our meetings of late has been the quiet seriousness with which each speaker has been received, and this, combined with the various questions of an intelligent nature, which are frequently submitted, encourage us in the belief that events are shaping well towards awakening a glimmer of intelligence in the dormant consciousness of the mass.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party of Australia, which has been widely distributed at our last two meetings and elsewhere, has apparently created a noticeable feeling of anticipatory gratification.

B. CATHNOR, Hon. Sec.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

The lantern lecture given by Comrade A. S. Reardon on the Russian Revolution in the Hall on Nov. 14th was most successful; the building was crowded as usual, and the audience was enthusiastic from start.

Much trouble and pains have been taken for some weeks, to prepare suitable slides, and to bring them up to date as far as possible; and the result justified our pains. It was generally agreed that it would be hard to find a better set than those we prepared.

Com. Reardon supplemented the pictures by an excellent address, descriptive of the slides, and dealing with the main events in the early days of the Revolution. At the close of the meeting, a vote of thanks was carried to Com. Low, who prepared the slides, and Com. C. Hooke, who so efficiently operated the lantern.

Activities are brisk, the only trouble being that there isn't time to do all we want to do.

Mention must be made too, of the excellent work done by the literature committee, who, under the enthusiastic directorship of Com. Quafe, are performing solid work towards the coming revolution.

In this connection it is gratifying to be able to report that at a special meeting of the Civil Servants, held in the Hippodrome, Nov. 12th, fifty dozen "International Socialists" were sold without difficulty.

MARCIA REARDON, Assist. Sec.

"THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC."

(By Col. Malone, M.P.)

Price 3/6—Posted 3/8.

Printed and published by Raymond Everitt at the Marxian Printing Works, 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.